

NUCLEAR FREE ZONE

[REDACTED] the United States could encourage the establishment of nuclear free zones where it is the consensus of the countries in a particular geographic region that such a zone should be established.

Countries in such zones would be subject to certain obligations:

- a. Not to manufacture nuclear weapons or vehicles primarily designed for delivering such weapons, not to seek or to receive assistance from any other state in the manufacture of such weapons and vehicles, and not to acquire such weapons and vehicles in any other manner.
- b. Not to permit the storage, stationing [or testing] of nuclear weapons or vehicles primarily designed for delivering such weapons in the territory under its jurisdiction and control; and

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such countries would be further obliging by accomplishing the disposal or withdrawal of such weapons and vehicles as may presently be in the territory under their jurisdiction and control.

States possessing nuclear weapons and vehicles primarily designed for delivering them would prefer to cooperate with and respect such arrangements.

In presenting or adopting this position the United States should point out that its present feasibility varies among the different regions of the world.

1. Latin America - A nuclear-free zone in Latin America would appear feasible and desirable at the present time. A Latin American nuclear-free zone should include all of the Eastern Hemisphere south of the U. S. border with the possible exception of territory near the United States and Canada in the British Commonwealth.

[REDACTED] In supporting such an arrangement, the U. S. would have to be prepared to meet Cuban argument that the middle and strategic aircraft to its territory and northern Mexico a possible U. S. invasion. The Cuban rigs suggest that an argument for a nuclear-free zone should

include a guarantee of the territorial integrity of Cuba.

2. Africa - similarly, it would be possible and would be desirable to achieve a nuclear-free zone in Africa. The United States should support such a zone, not only on its own merits, but also as a means of capitalizing on the interest which the African countries have already expressed in such a measure and focusing this interest on the problem of Latin America. In supporting an African nuclear free zone, the U.S. would have to consider the following problems:

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From the standpoint of the French, a problem might arise in phasing out further nuclear tests, although the French have committed themselves to stopping such tests in that area at some time in the future.

**3. Middle East - View of Arab-Liberation**

Arab-Liberation has demanded the Suez Canal probably be considered as part of a Middle Eastern zone rather than as part of an African zone.

3. **Middle East** - In defining a possible Middle East nuclear-free zone, the U.S. would determine how such a zone would include the Iraq and Iran areas, Afghanistan, but would not include Turkey.

The following aspects need to be considered:

a. - If or as Turkey is excluded, two alternative areas:

(1) Since Turkey is excluded from Turkey might be considered part of the European problem rather than the Middle East area.

(2) An alternative approach would be to include Turkey in a Middle East nuclear-free zone. The question of

how to deal with Turkey would have to be considered in the light of other factors bearing on the possible need to withdraw offensive nuclear weapons from Turkey in order to achieve a

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Settlement of the Cuban situation.

Inclusion of Turkey in a Middle

East nuclear-free zone might be one

way of introducing a new element of

negotiability in aiming at a Cuban

settlement while at the same time

reducing the risk of accidental war

in that area. Although such a zone

would not seriously affect the overall

Western deterrent, it would alleviate

present political difficulties and would

necessitate substantial steps reaffirming

the United States commitment to the defense

of Turkey and to NATO as a whole.

b. Although Iran is a member of CENTO and would be affected by a zone in the Middle East, the fact that Iran has already committed itself not to receive sizable bases on its territory appears to alleviate possible repercussions for CENTO.

In view of the recent acquisition of rockets by Israel and the USSR, such a zone would have a real effect in stabilizing this area, if agreement could be obtained.

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bomb would have been exploded in the South China Sea.

For China, India, and Indonesia, the zone would be

Philippines, and the zone would be

in Chinese Economic Zone. The zone could be established by the U. S., the advantage being that we would have advantages.

In this connection, and in view of the size of population of the zone, a serious problem, the U. S. has to consider the possibility that China might start developing with a nuclear program would be a major consideration. However, it does not seem that the U. S. could afford to neglect the zone, and the U. S. must take some action to prevent the zone from becoming a nuclear power.

U. S. at present does not have any specific policy towards the zone, but it is clear that the U. S. must take some action to prevent the zone from becoming a nuclear power.

The first move would have to be to establish the zone, and the second move would be to control the zone by border patrols and other means to be initiated. In particular, the decision making of

within the limits of the international  
possible exception of Australia and New  
Zealand) south of the equator and west portion  
of the Northern Pacific west of the International  
date line.

From the standpoint of the U. S. Navy the  
creation of such a zone would mean the right  
of the withdrawal of U. S. ships and vehicles  
from territory under the jurisdiction and control  
of countries in the zone and, in effect, so much  
agreement, from territory under their jurisdiction  
and control in the zone as well.

A question would arise with respect to the  
ability of the U. S. Navy to effect the withdrawal  
and absence of military personnel. Measures  
such ships and aircraft could not remain in one  
place indefinitely, as a provision may soon  
arise to provide naval assistance, the U. S.

Government offering to do this and demand  
which respect the nuclear weapons located aboard U. S.  
ships and aircraft in the zone.

3. Riveted - A U. S. approach along the following lines  
would undoubtedly raise at the same time the question

an arrangement establishing a nuclear-free zone.

The U. S. would have to take into account the situation in Europe which would prove more complex than that in other regions where such zones might be considered and that the U. S. believed that the basic problem in Europe is that of preventing further instabilities through appropriate limitation of armaments and through related arms control agreements. The U. S. is prepared to discuss such zones in great detail but does not believe the establishment of nuclear-free zones in other areas can be used, await resolution of problems which exist between the NATO and Warsaw Pact.

#### Implementation of Disarmament

With respect to implementation of a European zone the foregoing line of thought states might take the following

action: Establish a small autonomous world, as a general matter, be partitioned by the governments of states in a particular geographic region. Obviously, special steps would have to be taken in Latin America in order to secure establishment of a nuclear-free zone there.

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1. Insofar as possible, personnel from the  
particular regional government  
would report to an appropriate  
of the UN on progress in implementing  
local arrangements.

2. Insofar as verification is concerned,  
primary reliance would presumably  
be placed on unilateral intelligence  
sources. Insofar as other verification  
arrangements might be required, these  
arrangements might involve either  
on the UN to provide observers or, failing  
such other steps as might be better  
suited to the needs of the particular  
region in question.

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NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES

(deleted) the United States could encourage the establishment of nuclear-free zones where in the consensus of the countries in a particular geographic region that such a zone should be established.

Countries in such zones would be subject to the following obligations:

- a. Not to manufacture nuclear weapons or vehicles primarily designed for delivering such weapons, nor to seek or to receive assistance from any other state in the manufacture of such weapons and vehicles, and not to acquire such weapons and vehicles in any manner;
- b. Not permit the storage, stationing (or testing) of nuclear weapons or vehicles primarily designed for delivering such weapons in the territory under their jurisdiction and control; and
- c. (4 lines deleted)

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Such countries would be further obligated to accomplish the disposal or withdrawal of such weapons and vehicles as may presently be in the territory under their jurisdiction and control.

States possessing nuclear weapons and vehicles primarily designed for delivering them would undertake to cooperate with and respect such arrangements.

In presenting or adopting this position the United States should point out that its present feasibility varies among the different regions of the world:

1. Latin America - A nuclear-free zone in Latin America would appear feasible and desirable at the present time. A Latin American nuclear-free zone should include all of the Western Hemisphere south of the U.S. border with the possible exception of territory under the jurisdiction and control of the United States. [Two lines deleted] In supporting such an arrangement, the U.S. would have to be prepared to meet a Cuban argument that the missile and strategic aircraft on the territory are required to deter a possible U.S. invasion. The Cubans might suggest that an arrangement for a nuclear-free zone should

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include a guarantee of the territorial integrity of Cuba.

2. Africa - Similarly, it should be possible and would be desirable to achieve a nuclear-free zone in Africa. The United States should support such a zone, not only on its own merits, but also as a means of legitimization on the interest which the African countries have already expressed in such a measure and particularly in interest on the problem of Latin America. In supporting an African nuclear free zone, the U.S. would have to consider the following problems:

- a. (4 lines deleted)
- b. (From the standpoint of the French, a problem might arise in phasing out further nuclear tests, although the French have committed themselves to stopping such tests in that area at some time in the future.)

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c. In view of Arab-Israeli relationships, Israel should probably be considered as part of a Middle Eastern zone rather than part of an African zone.

d. Middle East - In defining a possible Middle East nuclear-free zone, the U.S. should consider that such a zone would include the USSR and extend through Afghanistan, but would not include Pakistan.

The following aspects need to be considered:

a. Insofar as Turkey is concerned, the alternatives arise:

(a) Since Turkey is a member of NATO, Turkey must be considered part of the European problem rather than the Middle East zone.

(b) An alternative approach would be to regard Turkey as a Middle East nuclear-zone. The question of how to deal with Turkey would have to be considered in the light of other factors bearing on the possible need to withdraw conventional weapons from Turkey in order to validate

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settlement of the Cuban situation. Inclusion of Turkey in a Middle East nuclear-free zone might be one way of introducing a new element of negotiability in aiming at a Cuban settlement while at the same time reducing the risk of accidental war in that area. Although such a zone would not seriously effect the over-all Western deterrent, it would clearly present political difficulties and would necessitate substantial steps reaffirming the United States commitment to the defense of Turkey and to NATO as a whole. Although Iran is a member of CENTO and would be affected by a zone in the Middle East, the fact that Iran has already committed itself not to receive missile bases on its territory appears to alleviate possible repercussions for CENTO. In view of the recent acquisition of rockets by Israel and the UAR, such a zone would have a real effect in stabilizing this area, if agreement could be obtained.

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Asia and the Western Pacific - An Asian-Pacific zone would have to include Communist China, Soviet Union, India, Japan, Taiwan, Korea, the Philippines, and other nearby countries.

If Chinese Communist participation in such a zone could be obtained on terms acceptable to the U.S., the establishment of the zone would be advantageous.

In this zone more than any of the others the risk of cheating by the participants would be a major problem, from the U.S. point of view particularly, that China might secretly continue with a nuclear program would be a major consideration. However, it seems unlikely that Communist China could develop a capability threatening to the U.S. and other countries in the area without detection by U.S. unilateral intelligence. If such cheating were detected, the U.S. would probably nuclearize the area considerably faster than the Chinese could develop an effective capability.

The factors which would have to be considered in defining an Asian-Pacific zone relative to the question of whether Australia and New Zealand would be included in defining the Eastern boundary of

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the zone, a possible boundary might include, within the zone, all of the Pacific (with the possible exception of Australia and New Zealand south of the equator) and that portion of the Northern Pacific west of the International date line.

From the standpoint of the U.S., the creation of such a zone would mean, in effect, the withdrawal of U.S. weapons and vehicles from territory under the jurisdiction and control of countries in the zone and in order to reach agreement, from territory under the jurisdiction and control of the zone as well.

A question would arise with respect to the ability of the U.S. to place in the area ships and aircraft carrying nuclear weapons. Although such ships and aircraft could not be based in the zone, it does not, as a practical matter, seem possible to exclude them. Accordingly, the U.S. might consider offering a "no first use" commitment with respect to nuclear weapons carried aboard U.S. ships and aircraft in the zone.

4. Europe - A U.S. approach along the foregoing lines would undoubtedly raise at the same time the problem

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that the countries of Europe also enter into an arrangement establishing a nuclear-free zone. The U.S. would have to point out that the situation in Europe is obviously more complex than that in other regions where such zones might be considered and that the U.S. believed existing instabilities through appropriate reduction of armaments and through related arms control arrangements. The U.S. is prepared to go into such matters in great detail but does not believe the establishment of nuclear-free zones in other areas should, or need, await resolution of problems which exist between the NATO and Warsaw Pacts.

Implementation of Nuclear-Free Zones

With respect to implementation of arrangements in the foregoing lines, the United States might take the following approach:

- a. Zonal arrangements would, as a general matter, be negotiated by the governments of states in particular geographic region. Obviously, special steps would have to be taken in Latin America in order to secure establishment of a nuclear-free zone there.

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- b. The countries participating in a particular regional arrangement would report to an appropriate organ of the UN on progress in implementing zonal arrangements.
- c. Insofar as verification is concerned, primary reliance would presumably be placed on unilateral intelligence sources. Insofar as other verification arrangements might be required, such arrangements might involve either calling on the UN to provide observers or taking such other steps as might be better suited to the needs of the particular region in question.

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